

ENGLISH POLITICS

MR. GLADSTONE—THE SESSION THUS FAR.
(FROM THE REGULAR CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.)

LONDON, March 8. Mr. Gladstone's return to London and appearance in the House is a delight to his friends for more reasons than one. They are glad for his sake that he has stayed away so long, and they are glad for their own sake and for the country, that he has not stayed away longer. You have heard, as we have all heard here, rumors that he was about to retire from public life and to accept a peerage. Such rumors arising up, or more truly speaking, as set about, as often as Mr. Gladstone has a cold, or fails for whatever reason to take his usual place in the House. They are not true, and, considering that they come not from Mr. Gladstone's friends but from his enemies, it may be said that they are totally untruthful and misleading.

It must, nevertheless, be conceded that Mr. Gladstone returns to work with reluctance. His stay at Cannes is the first real vacation he has had since he became Prime Minister. From the day of his arrival on the Mediterranean coast, his strength and spirits revived. So did his appetite for literary work, and he took up almost at once his long-neglected Homeric studies, and pursued them with zest during his whole stay. The place charmed him—the air, the view, the walks, the freedom from duties, and, for the most part, from troublesome company, all delighted him. At first he was impatient to return. A sense of postponed duties tormented him. Very soon a different mood ensued. His family and friends, who had much difficulty in persuading him to stay over the opening of Parliament, began to experience a fear of another sort. Having once reconciled himself to absence he became disposed to prolong it. He announced that he meant to remain in Cannes till Easter. Day by day the fascination of freedom grew upon him. I don't know that he ever pronounced the word resignation, but I think it may be said that those about him became convinced that the thought of it was in his mind. They began to dread lest it should result in a serious purpose. The alarm was communicated to London. His colleagues, who at first had done their best to induce him to protract his vacation, now did their best to induce him to abridge it. Urgent messages travelled across France to the Chateau de St. Raphael. Influences of many kinds were brought to bear, and finally with success.

Making no secret of his extreme reluctance to give up his newly-found liberty, Mr. Gladstone fixed the day for turning his face northward, and northward he started at the hour agreed. He puts on harness in a very different spirit from that of a few years ago. When he quitted his retirement in 1876 to denounce the Bulgarian horrors and prevent the complicity of England in the atrocious policy of Turkey, he entered upon his task with joy. He continued it, completed it, resumed it in 1879, overthrew Lord Beaconsfield and his Government in 1880, and ever since has worked like a giant. Work has been a delight to him all his life long. His only joy of rest was to do something else. Now he returns to it with a struggle; accepts it as a duty, and will probably do three times as much as any of his colleagues; no longer because he cannot help it but because he thinks he ought. He admits that he feels the burden, but of laying it down he has at present no thought, and for the future no definite purpose.

The notion that Mr. Gladstone will some day make himself a Peer, often as it has been talked of, is not one that commends itself to those most devoted to him, nor, it is believed, to himself. Disraeli in the House of Lords seemed in his right place. He had been a champion of the order, and of most things which the majority of the order support. He cared greatly for splendor, for rank, for the deference which in this country is accorded to title. For none of these things does Mr. Gladstone care. Most of those whose confidence has been given to him would regard his presence in a Chamber of Peers as an incongruity. It was the fitting close of Disraeli's career. It would not be the fitting close of Mr. Gladstone's career. It is hardly too much to say that the announcement of his elevation to an Earldom would be in some respects such a shock to the Liberal party as fell upon England when Pitt became Earl of Chatham; utterly different as the circumstances would be.

Yet even his title has been chosen for him. Mr. Gladstone, say the gossips, not for the first time, is to be Earl of Liverpool. There are several objections to that. There are already objections to giving a new man an old title. The Queen, I hear, who liked Lord Liverpool, would be disposed to withhold her assent. Then, although the title is extinct, the family is not. Two daughters of the third and last Earl are still living, and their wishes are entitled to consideration. The reason given for pitching on this title for Mr. Gladstone is, of course, that he was born in Liverpool. But there are plenty of other names at his disposal, should he be disposed to claim them, and at present the matter may be left where it belongs, in the region of pure conjecture.

The House gave its Leader a warm greeting on his return, and repeated it when he rose for the first time. All his friends and most of his opponents are glad to have him back again. Politics apart, the House is a more interesting place with Mr. Gladstone than without him. Lord Hartington, who has acted as his substitute, has carried on business with discretion, energy and unflinching good sense. For the purposes of the debate on the address, he has been, perhaps, a not less useful leader than his chief would have been. He has certainly contributed less than Mr. Gladstone would have done to the stream of talk which for three weeks flowed on without ceasing. There are circumstances in which silence, or moderate speech, is not an unmixt advantage. The present Secretary of State for War has one point of superiority over the Prime Minister as Leader of the House. He cannot be "drawn." In vain do the Parliament rage and the Fourth Party imagine vain things. Tantrums, sneers, invective, insinuations, which sting Mr. Gladstone into indignant retort, are wasted upon the stoical composure of the future Duke of Devonshire. To watch the cool indifference with which Lord Hartington receives the insults of half a dozen opponents makes one consider whether, after all, aristocracy has not its uses. There is no armor against vulgar impetuosity like contempt. It is imperturbable if it be genuine, and nobody can doubt the other genuineness of Lord Hartington's contempt for the offensive personalities he has to meet.

What is wanting to Lord Hartington is what would be wanting to anyone holding power temporarily, and that is authority. Neither he nor anyone else in Mr. Gladstone's absence could give a decisive answer to any important question. This has been seen in more cases than one; in none, perhaps, with more clearness than on the question of withdrawing the troops from Egypt. Lord Hartington took it upon himself to say they might all be out of the country in six months. Lord Granville, in the other House, about the same time was remarking that nothing could be more indiscreet than to fix a date for their return. And one of Mr. Gladstone's first declarations on resuming the reins was designed to remedy the evil effect of Lord Hartington's assurance. It must not, said Mr. Gladstone, be considered anything more than the expression of a hope. And he went on to intimate, in no obscure terms, that he himself did not even share the hope. In a word, he threw over Lord Hartington's over-credulity and regretfully, but threw him over. It was necessary, for England otherwise would have stood pledged to a policy which is not hers, and which might, well enough have resulted in the loss of all, or nearly all, that she and Egypt together have gained by the suppression of Arabi. "We are in Egypt," said Mr. Gladstone, "for the establishment of order and stability; we are there for the improvement of the institutions of the country; we are there to secure, so far as depends on ourselves, the fulfillment of international engagements; and we are there undoubtedly in a principal degree in reference to the freedom and security of the great passage by the Canal from one sea to another." To withdraw till these objects have been made sure is to part of Mr. Gladstone's purpose, and it is tolerably clear that he has no expectation of seeing them made sure within the next six months.

On neither side of the House has there been any important change of position or reputation since the

session began save in Mr. Parnell's case. Mr. Parnell has returned and been welcomed, and Mr. Childers is here as Chancellor of the Exchequer, but will not make his first Budget speech till after Easter. All the heavy work of the session is yet to come, and none of it can really make progress till the House comes together after its usual vacation. It is the fashion among people who measure the passage of time by the passage of bills to speak of the session thus far as wasted. It has not been wasted. It was worth spending three weeks to neutralize Mr. Parnell and convict him of complicity with that mass of Irish crime which agitators have hitherto appealed to flippantly as proof of Irish grievance. Now that the crime is seen to have been part of the agitation, the men who profited by it have been permanently discredited with the English public.

It may be worth noting that even Lord Randolph Churchill has broken of political relations with Mr. Parnell. In that astonishing speech which the member for Wootton Bassett addressed to his constituents some ten days ago, he denounced Irish agitation with almost as much fervor as he did the Government. He no longer cherishes the hope, or the immediate hope, of an alliance with Home Rulers for the overthrow of the Ministry. Lord Randolph himself might still be willing enough to work with them, for he has shown in the last two sessions that he is not scrupulous about the political company he keeps. But he is not careless of public opinion so far as it affects his personal fortunes, and he sees clearly enough that a combination of Conservatives and Land League chiefs will no longer answer. Probably he does not like Mr. Forster the better for having made it impossible.

Mr. Stafford Northcote, meantime, is letting the reins slip further and further through his fingers. He hardly pretends to lead his party. He has come back in better health, of which everybody is glad, but evidently in no mood to rule the more turbulent spirits who are supposed to be under his authority. His attempt to revive the Kilmainham controversy came too late. Last session such a challenge to Ministers would have produced the Conservatives, but even the duller souls perceive that Parliament cannot devote one session to reviewing the debates of the preceding. Kilmainham has done its work. It injured the Government with the country, but it has been condoned, and the Tories have taken nothing by their scandalous attempt to spatter the Government with some of the Phoenix Park blood. They had a chance to use Carey's disclosures. They might have joined from the beginning in the wise and patriotic work of fastening upon the Land League the responsibility for what was done in the name of the Government. They preferred the hopeless task of incriminating the Ministry. The result is that they are weaker and the Ministry is stronger than when the session opened.

THE IRISH AND MR. TREVELYAN—MAILS AND MARRIAGE.
(FROM THE REGULAR CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.)

LONDON, March 10. The most striking Irish episode of the week is, perhaps, that connected with the name of Mr. Trevelyan, the new member for Ireland, and Editor of *United Ireland*, that journal of the Land League of which Mr. Parnell and Mr. McCarthy are part proprietors. Mr. Trevelyan seems to have been chosen by Mr. Parnell as the fittest instrument of the policy announced just before the session began by *The Freeman's Journal*. That policy is to denounce Mr. Trevelyan as Mr. Forster was denounced. Mr. Trevelyan in his place in Parliament names Mr. Trevelyan as deserving the execration of the world. This, too, is part of the "machinery of murder," and it is not the first time that from the benches where the Parnellites sit the signal has been given for the shot fired behind the hedge, or the knife plunged into the victim's back.

This time, I am glad to say, the performance was not allowed to pass without challenge. Mr. Trevelyan rose at once, and, in terms in which there is no ambiguity, told the House the meaning and intent of Mr. Trevelyan's attack. From men, said the Chief Secretary, have successfully been held up to the execration of the people of Ireland in a certain paper, and those four were Mr. Forster, the late Mr. Burke, Mr. Justice Lawson and Mr. Field the jurymen. "I ask the House," continued Mr. Trevelyan in cool, firm tones, "to remember the connecting link between those four." Has anybody anywhere in the world forgotten it—forgot that all four were targets for the assassin? Within the last two weeks the same sort of attack has been directed against the present Chief Secretary. *United Ireland* describes Mr. Trevelyan as the most hated man in Ireland—precisely the phrase levelled of old at Mr. Forster. Up to this time, says the organ of Mr. Parnell and Mr. McCarthy, no one could be found more inhuman or more destitute of any sense of feeling than Mr. Forster; but at last a person had appeared more inhuman and more destitute of common feeling than Mr. Forster, and that is Mr. Trevelyan. To which Mr. Parnell cried loudly, "Hear, hear!"

Mr. Parnell, well knowing what was coming, had sought at the outset of Mr. Trevelyan's speech to interrupt him, appealing to the Speaker on a point of "order," but vainly. There was nothing left for him but to bray it out with savage cries, as he did. Mr. Sexton followed suit. He avowed in no many words that "so long as he was able to speak he would not be silent nor hate one word of what he conceived to be the truth because criticism upon public men had led to violence." Mr. Gladstone underlined the remark in the usual House of Commons way, which means that note is taken of a significant declaration. Upon which Mr. Sexton repeated it.

What does all this mean if it does not mean that the Parnellites are more and more openly avowing that complicity with crime of which Mr. Forster has convicted Mr. Parnell himself? But it is not convenient to Englishmen who plead the Home Rule cause that the connection between its various classes of Irish advocates should be too flagrant. The use of murder as a political instrument, long as it has been practised in Ireland, has not become congenial to Englishmen, and English allies of Irish Home Rule are nervous under such plain speaking as Mr. Trevelyan's, and such unblinking candor as Mr. O'Brien's and Mr. Parnell's. Mr. Sexton says *The Daily News*: "The terms in which Mr. O'Brien spoke of Mr. Trevelyan were too severely condemned; though it would be absurd to attribute to any rhetoric of passion the long and patiently organized and carefully executed crimes which Mr. Trevelyan held up to the just indignation of the House."

Whose hand pens that sentence? Is it Mr. McCarthy, joint proprietor of the paper that designates the victims of Irish "patriotism" to the assassin, and still an editorial writer on *The Daily News*? This Liberal organ told us not long ago that the idea of suppressing the provocation to murder offered by spoken or printed words was among the "fallacies of despotism." The power of shutting its eyes and ears to notorious but inconvenient facts is among the most singular accomplishments of this singular journal. If Mr. O'Brien pointed his finger across the street at Mr. Trevelyan, and a patiently organized band of cutthroats carefully executed Mr. Trevelyan then and there, it would, I suppose, be "absurd" to attribute to Mr. O'Brien any connection with the crime?

The writer of the sentence in *The Daily News*, whether he be Mr. McCarthy or a sympathizer with Mr. McCarthy's Irish views, knows well what the state of things is to-day. The Parnellites are not broken up. The source and centre of the conspiracy was and is in London. Not for a year and a half has the life of any member of the Government directly connected with Irish administration been safe in London any more than in Dublin. Mr. Trevelyan, denounced by *The Daily News* as adopting the fallacies of despotism, and by *United Ireland* as the most inhuman and hated man in the kingdom, is in hourly peril. He is not allowed to walk the streets of London without a guard. His house is guarded while they are with him, and he himself goes armed, and is forbidden by the authorities who are responsible for his safety ever to lay aside his revolver. All these facts are perfectly well known to the writer I am quoting. Mr. Forster, who escaped by a miracle, Mr. Burke, who did not escape, Mr. Justice Lawson, who was attacked in the streets of Dublin, Mr. Field, who was stabbed

almost to death, also in the street—every one of them in turn was pointed at by the murderous finger which last night in the House and for the last two weeks in Dublin has guided assassins to their work. But it is "absurd" to trace any connection between them. That *The Daily News* and its Editor abhor murder is certain. But the language they have about Mr. Trevelyan in such circumstances as exist, and the infinitely more wicked and abundant language held by Mr. Parnell and his allies, which *The Daily News* palliates and perverts, contribute, though in very different degrees, to increase the peril that menaces the Chief Secretary.

The impression made on the House by Mr. Trevelyan's statement was so damaging to the Parnellites that Mr. O'Brien returned to the subject next evening. Unlike Mr. Parnell, the Member for Mallow strove to minimize the meaning of his murderous articles. He urged that he had not named Mr. Burke—he had only made a remark about the "rats in the Castle cellars." Most people would think that enough, but Mr. O'Brien did not do himself full justice. Mr. Trevelyan cited other articles. The Chief Secretary was not only rife but impostors and asps. That was the sort of writing which preceded the death of Mr. Burke. Of Mr. Justice Lawson Mr. O'Brien said that he "did not attempt to conceal his indecent longing for a conviction" in the *Hynes* case. And so on. The proof, in short, was accumulated till the best thing Mr. O'Brien, who came to the defence, could once was that English papers said things just as bad. But the defence was not availed. It is not a true account of the matter, and if it were it would not relieve Mr. O'Brien from his moral responsibility for the murders.

Mr. Fawcett's reappearance in the House gives rise to hopes that the officialism of his department is not to have everything its own way in the matter of steamship contracts. Mr. Baxter put an elaborate question to him, of which the substance is this: Does not the American system of sending mails by the fastest ships, belonging to us, and which is more economical, efficient and efficient than the British system? Mr. Baxter made bold to ask Mr. Fawcett whether he was not aware that the Catalonia and Pavia and other ships of the Cunard Line carrying mails made passages, as a rule, several days longer than the Alaska and Arizona of the Union Line, carrying no mails? He asked whether the Union Line was not at present employing chartered steamers of inferior power, and whether the outward mails from Great Britain did not frequently take fourteen or fifteen days in the passage. Finally, queried Mr. Baxter, if these and other statements be true, and the inward mail is much better than the outward, what is there to prevent England from following the example of the United States?

After the cheers that greeted the Postmaster-General had subsided, he said that, without entering into details as to the House, he would undertake that an inquiry should be made with the object of ascertaining whether any improvement in the service be possible. If Mr. Fawcett will himself take part in the inquiry there can be no doubt of the result. The contract system, Mr. Fawcett has been told, and found wanting. The waiting conditions of the former system would be sufficient to condemn it. That company gets £35,000 a year for carrying the mails. What has become of its fleet? Only to-day comes the report that the City of Chester has put into Halifax with a broken screw. The City of Richmond broke down on her outward voyage. The City of Chicago is "building." The City of Paris is old and slow. There remains the City of Berlin—one ship to perform a weekly mail service between Liverpool and New-York. The Cunard Company is running, besides such freight ships as those named by Mr. Baxter, the *Partina* and the *Bothnia*, and two really fast and good steamers, the *Gallia* and *Servia*. That is what the contract system has brought us. Two out of the three lines to which a monopoly is given have not the ships to do the work efficiently.

The American Episcopal clergyman, who wrote the letter about marriage with a deceased wife's sister, published anonymously in *The Church Quarterly Review*, is likely to hear more of it. The letter painted an appalling picture of the social evils resulting in the United States from the marriages, or from the legal position of marriage, between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. It has been, as I said the other day, a useful weapon in the hands of the opponents of the bill for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister in England. With a view to ascertaining how much truth there is in this derogatory letter, the House of Commons has decided to have the execution of the people of Ireland in a certain paper, and those four were Mr. Forster, the late Mr. Burke, Mr. Justice Lawson and Mr. Field the jurymen. "I ask the House," continued Mr. Trevelyan in cool, firm tones, "to remember the connecting link between those four." Has anybody anywhere in the world forgotten it—forgot that all four were targets for the assassin? Within the last two weeks the same sort of attack has been directed against the present Chief Secretary. *United Ireland* describes Mr. Trevelyan as the most hated man in Ireland—precisely the phrase levelled of old at Mr. Forster. Up to this time, says the organ of Mr. Parnell and Mr. McCarthy, no one could be found more inhuman or more destitute of any sense of feeling than Mr. Forster; but at last a person had appeared more inhuman and more destitute of common feeling than Mr. Forster, and that is Mr. Trevelyan. To which Mr. Parnell cried loudly, "Hear, hear!"

The fate of this bill in the House of Commons is a curious illustration of the lottery system of legislation prevailing in England. It is a private member's bill, that is, brought in by a private member and not by the Government. Sir Thomas Chambers, who has charge of it, thought himself very lucky in securing for ballot the second Wednesday of the session for the discussion of the measure. If matters had run their ordinary course, the bill would then have been debated in a morning sitting, and the second reading carried by a very large majority. But Ireland stood in the way, as it generally does. The debate on the Address was not finished, and Wednesday was swallowed up in a flood of Irish talk. It is not likely that another opportunity will occur this session. The Lords, however, who rejected the bill last year by three votes, will again be asked to pass it, and probably will. The mishap of last year was due to a combination of circumstances, and it is not probable that the controversy that the number of Peers taking part in the vote was one of the largest known on any question. The Prince of Wales voted for it. Lord Houghton is president of the association which has existed since 1851 exclusively to effect this reform, which Episcopal and ecclesiastical bigotry has been successfully invoked to defeat. The activity on one side is perhaps as great as the other. Hardly had the new Archbishop of Canterbury been a month nominated when he felt himself obliged to write a letter contradicting the report that he was in favor of the measure. But the pressure of public opinion is more potent than bishops and archbishops, and ultimately the bill must become law.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.
(FROM THE REGULAR CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.)

From the Boston Herald, at a table in a Cornhill restaurant, at dinner recently, sat a man from Cambridge, who was a native of New Hampshire. Meeting an old acquaintance, the conversation soon turned on family topics and the pair began to talk about their former neighbors in a most familiar way. "Yes," remarked the Cambridge gentleman, "Sam was in many respects different from the rest of the boys. You remember who he married? Well, when the old man, his father, found that he was about to be married, he called him one day in the barn and said: 'Sam, if you intend to marry Beatie, Sam never said a word, so the old man said: 'Mo' boy, ye know Beatie's a native of New Hampshire. Ye know how the sisters has turned out, and not one of them is now living with their husbands.' Sam was as much as a partner, and just as soon as he was ready, him and Beatie got wed."

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